342 east. Thus oriented, the house is excellently ventilated and im-
361 mune from the invasion of gnats and other insufferable mosquitoes, which are the agony of those who live in the heart of the forest or on the banks of streams. The rays of the rising sun penetrate freely into the house and overcome the morning cold, which is quite intense. The ekçá is only for sound men, warriors, and
342 their sons over eight years of age.

513 Each warrior slings his hammock wherever he pleases inside the house.

351 On the grounds, and also towards the east, stand three rows of posts connected by crossbeams where the warriors string their hammocks on clear summer nights. [103]

352 Each warrior keeps within his reach everything he owns, hanging from the roof of the ekçá above his hammock -- bows, arrows, warclub, and horn.

352 They all sleep in hammocks woven of cotton thread and so
513 small that they must lie motionless so as not to fall on the floor.

462 The cotton is planted by the Indian women, who also pre-
248 pare the thread and the netting.

354 Inside the ekçá, many fires burn at night amid the warriors' hammocks.

342 Around the ekçá stand the houses of the women, which also
361 shelter the children of both sexes, the decrepit old men, and the sick.

In Necodemos these houses are five in number, quite large, built with greater care [than the ekçá], higher and completely enclosed, having as a door only one opening or sometimes two. There are no interior partitions whatever: the house is altogether communal; but the mothers, with their children, their decrepit old men, and their sick, each take care of one part of the house and
352 there hang their hammocks. Near them they keep their implements, namely: brooms, looms, baskets, etc. In the center of
354 the house stand one or two ovens to make manioc flour: they consist merely of crude stones, more or less flattened, standing on other stones. A fire burns under this oven. The warriors may
352 come into the women's house whenever they please; but the women
[562] never set foot in the ekçá. It is in the women's houses that the more precious objects are kept, such as feather ornaments, necklaces of human teeth, enemy heads, etc.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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culture, the planting and use of cotton were introduced after their contact with the whites, and their only watercraft were bark canoes of the type the German ethnologist Karl von den Steinen saw in the upper Xingú.[4] The moiety-phratry-clan system of Mundurucú social organization is considerably more complex than most Tupian societies, and the system of kinship nomenclature is correspondingly divergent. Mundurucú religion follows the broad outlines of supernatural beliefs and rites of the area, but there are significant differences in mythology.

These are only a few points of dissimilarity between the Mundurucú and the other Tupian tribes of the coast and lower Amazon region, but when considered with the linguistic data, they are sufficient to suggest a considerable period of independent development. There are also fundamental points of similarity: subsistence techniques are much akin to those found throughout the tropical-forest region of South America, and the Mundurucú are a village-dwelling people. And in common with other tribes of the area, class stratification is absent, political controls are simple, and the fundamental organization of the society is established along lines of kinship.

Certain characteristics lead me to suspect that the Mundurucú may have originally dwelled south of their present habitat. Their lack of cotton and the dug-out canoe and the absence of cannibalism and alcoholic beverages suggest that they may have come from the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Also, although they were and are industrious horticulturalists, their supernatural beliefs and ceremonies are only marginally concerned with cultivation; their major emphasis in ritual is on hunting. One other factor suggests a more southerly origin. The traditional Mundurucú villages were situated in the northernmost savannah coun-

[4] Steinen, 1894, pp. 222–223.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tato (*Ipomoea batatas*), maize, beans, squash, pineapple, and pepper. At some time after the advent of the whites in the Western Hemisphere such plants as banana, rice, potato, and sugar cane were introduced. Cotton, although native to the New World, was not adopted and used by the Mundurucú until the nineteenth century. Similarly, although the potato is native in western South America it was not found aboriginally in the eastern part of the continent.

The agricultural land exploitable by each village is more than adequate, but not unlimited. Amazonian forest soil is generally of extremely poor quality. It is loose and friable and thus suitable to the simple digging sticks formerly used by the aborigines in planting, but it lacks the colloids essential to hold the minerals in the topsoil. The result is that the minerals are leached into the subsoil by the heavy annual rains. There is some variation in soil quality, however, even in this rather uniform environment. Much land is unusable in Mundurucú territory because it is periodically inundated or because it is sandy, grass-covered savannah. The tillable forest land is classified by the Mundurucú into the categories of black, red, and clay earth. The latter two are further subdivided if they contain a significant percentage of sand. Black earth is the best land and is usually the only kind in which they raise squash, melon, beans, and rice. These crops can be grown with uncertain prospects of success in red earth while maize can be raised in both. The tuber crops grow in all kinds of soil. Since black earth is not accessible to all villages, the list of Mundurucú crops is often drastically reduced in certain locations.

The land cannot be used for more than two plantings. On the second planting, in all types of soil, only bitter manioc is raised. Certain crops, such as pineapple, replant

/2 cont./

*241 resettled on the Maué-assu River /Maués-Guassú?/ and in the former
[175] mission of Vila Nova da Rainha in 1800 and 1803 respectively, he says that they "... showed little inclination to prepare gardens for manioc flour." (3)

3. Monteiro Baena, 1843: 283.

Later, Martius, in his more extensive report on the Mundurukú, does not mention qualitative cultivation but refers merely to the quantitative production of the gardens, i.e., he alludes to the large volume of manioc flour produced by the Tapajós Mundurukú, but /3/ he is not familiar with, or at least does not mention, the plant varieties they cultivate, although they undoubtedly raised more than
[648] the cotton and manioc roots he mentions. He attributes the quantitative development to the power and warring strength of the tribe, which thus protected its gardens against the attacks, thefts, and raids frequently carried out by other tribes, especially the Mura. Martius speaks as follows: "In the arts of agriculture, the Mundurucú merely appear to be ahead when compared with the others, while /actually/ the power of the populous and warlike tribe ... makes the gardens
[161] safer, and because the somewhat dense population can no longer de-
●248 pend exclusively on hunting and fishing. They plant a little cotton
[251] and a lot of manioc roots, the flour of which, packed in baskets and
[439] large palm leaves ..., they have been selling to the boatmen of the Tapajós ever since they established peaceful contact." (4)

4. Martius, 1867: 390: "In den Kuensten des Landbaus scheinen die Mundurukú nur insoweit Andern voranzustehen, als die Macht des zahlreichen und kriegerischen Stammes ... den Pflanzungen mehr Sicherheit verleiht, und die etwas gedraengtere Bevoelkerung nicht mehr bloss von Jagd und Fischerei abhaengig seyn kann. Sie bauen

/31/

*241
192
[248]

2) Referring to cultivated plants.

cotton (Gossypium)	buru
" large variety /long staple?/	buru chichi
" small variety /short staple?/	buru anan
pineapple (Ananas sativus)	ipara
" large, sour variety	ipara chichi
" field variety	ipara dyõ dyõ
" thornless, sweet variety	ipara biraprap
" small variety	ipara anan
" small, yellow variety	ipara rem
rice (Oryza)	arũira
banana (Musa sapientum)	aku
" São Tomé variety	aku rabã chichi; (aku robõ)
" caiena or caiana variety	aku ánya
" inajá variety	aku an an pa
" purple variety	aku pakpak
" white variety	aku ritrit
banana white variety	aku roror; aku rign rign
" "water" or chorona variety	aku ipapan; aku chik pa
" (Musa paradisiaca);	
pacova variety	aku chichi
" large pacova variety	aku ok pirut chichi
" " " "	aku ok pirut an
" " " "	aku hr ba beredn pa
sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas)	wechik
potato yellow variety	wechik pakpak
sweet potato purplish variety	wechik tuitui
" " white "	wechik ririt
" " (spotted inside)	wechik pirã pararak
cacao (Theobroma cacao)	wadye
" domesticated, planted	wadye
" wild (sometimes planted)	wadye buruburu—pa
/32/ " " "	wadye akarap pa
coffee (Coffea)	kape (ip)